

3: Underhill

Papago NU28

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[For the life history of Maria Chona, a Papago woman, see
category 116, pp. 5-64. --Analyst]

the Spaniards instituted the office of governor and the Americans continued it. Chona's father was the governor of Mesquite Root (kuitatk), an ancient village now abandoned, and Chona spent her girlhood there under conditions differing very little from those of pre-Spanish days. //15

The story of her past was her constant preoccupation, and snatches of it were narrated at every opportunity. Most of it was taken through an interpreter, for, though the writer spoke a little Papago and Chona a little Spanish, it seemed desirable that her words should be transcribed exactly. They were not taken in text but in as accurate a translation as the writer, engaged in a study of Papago grammar, could work out. The wording, therefore, expresses Chona's thought as accurately as may be. //159 ●

The arrangement, however, is the writer's. Chona is ninety years old and her memory works with the fitfulness of age, presenting incidents in repetitious confusion. The only possible system was to write each one separately, add to it all the amendments which occurred to her during the years of our acquaintance, and then to question her patiently about the chronology until the correct order was worked out. She repeated each episode so often, however, that there was finally no question as to their sequence. //24

But the matter of accuracy in both chronology and wording being settled, there still remain, in presenting an Indian autobiography, important questions of technique. Indian narrative style involves a repetition and a dwelling on unimportant details which confuse the White reader and make it hard for him to follow the story. Motives are never explained and the writer has found even Indians at a loss to interpret them in the older myths. Emotional states are summed up in such colorless phrases as "I liked it," "I did not like it." For one not deeply immersed in the culture, the real significance escapes. //26

The writer felt most deeply the objections to distorting Chona's narrative. Yet if it had been written down exactly as she herself emitted it, there would have been immense emphasis on matters strange to her but commonplace to Whites and complete omission of some of the most interesting phases in her development. Therefore a pattern was followed. While the essentials of the narratives were retained it is hoped at every point, many of the repetitions were excised and the reader is warned of this fact just as he is warned, in the preface to a grammar, that certain phonetic changes regularly take place. [52] //28

On the other hand, Chona was not allowed to pass over the crises of her life with a mere word. While she had no objection to expressing her emotional states, she took them for granted. But, on being asked, she would amplify in such vivid phrases as "Fear went through me like a snake."

You see, that song makes you laugh. It does not say everything. They ¹⁵⁹ liked it, those River People. Their women came out to us with baskets of ⁵³³ food on their heads, tortillas, squash, and succotash. They fed us all for ⁵⁴¹ our beautiful singing.

Then we collected the stakes that we bet on the race. Yes, I tell you, ¹⁵⁹ we bet everything. Men took off their deerskin shirts, women piled up ⁵⁴¹ their baskets. The River People made piles just like ours, shirt for shirt ⁵²⁵ and basket for basket. Out beyond the village the horses were tethered two and two.

Out came the runners in white loin cloths, with beautiful red designs on their backs so we should know them. Asking for Cactus Seed ran that day, and Running Wind and Short Wings. Short Wings was the best and our side won. My father won a blanket and a shawl.

Then all night we sang for the River People. We sent a man to find out their names and then our men made songs with those names in them. Beautiful, funny songs we sang to those people all night long and never a mistake in the names. Next day they paid us for our singing. Piles of wheat and corn they brought out to the dance place and then they called our names. But funny names they called, because this time was gay. When they asked us, we only told them funny names.

One of our singers was so fat we called him Seven-Yard-Shirt. So a River woman put a pile of wheat on the ground and she called out: "Seven-Yard-Shirt will get his pay here." He ran to get it and she threw squash stems at him, but he took it and ran away. Oh, we were loaded with wheat and cotton when we went riding home from the River Country. And dried beans and corn and extra horses that our young men led along!

After that, whenever we went to sing and to race and to dance, I went, too. Yes, that is how it was when I was a married woman.

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We were careful when the first baby was coming. Our men were not ¹⁵⁹ going to war any more then, so I did not have to keep my husband home. ⁷⁴³ That had always worried my mother, for if a man kills an enemy at such a time, his child will die a violent death. But probably the man will not kill an enemy, he will be killed himself, he is so weak from his wife's weakness. But my husband did not kill any rabbits so that the baby should not have a choking sickness, and he kept away from rattlesnakes so it should not have convulsions. I was kind to the people in our village who looked sick or ugly, and I never laughed at them, so that my baby should have a good body.

Appendix

PERSONALITY SKETCHES OF EIGHT PAPAGO CHILDREN

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121 In this appendix we present eight case studies of Papago children. The purpose in doing so is twofold. First, the writer wishes to counteract misconceptions and generalizations which easily arise from attempts at group analysis. Group dynamics, by the establishment of certain types of reaction may deeply affect, but do not exclusively determine, the development and growth of the individual personality. Within the general pattern, constitutional factors and personal experience will always result in individual differences which defy simple reduction to cultural formulas.

The second purpose is to relieve the reader of the feeling of strangeness and remoteness that inevitably arises when one is confronted with an entirely generalized picture of a people, by introducing him to several individual Papago. To millions of people the story of an individual "G.I. Joe," with the details of his home, family, and specific experiences in a geographically localized fox-hole, makes war real as no analysis of the underlying sociopsychological forces can do. What the story of an individual "G.I. Joe" actually contributes to the understanding of war is little. It is probably not even representative of the experiences of the majority of soldiers, and generalizing it would be a grave mistake. But it is a medium which, by specification, provides a vicarious participation in unfamiliar experiences and thus is a help to understanding on less personalized levels.

These eight Papago children cannot be considered representative of the whole group studied. They were chosen for only one reason: these children had taken the entire gamut of tests employed in the research. They do not represent the range of economic conditions found on the Reservation, nor are other aspects of their lives typical. For instance, five of the selected children are Roman Catholics, and five show in their family background uncommon elements of status and prestige and thus do not reflect the actual distribution of these factors among the Reservation population.

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125 In order to achieve personality pictures of these individuals, the following method was adopted in each case. Information and observations regarding the social background, life-history, and overt behavior obtained from various sources were compiled by one of the anthropologists on the staff. The results of each test were scored, analyzed, and interpreted independently by other members of the research staff. In a general meeting this work was compared, discussed, and integrated. The final results thus obtained do not claim to be more than personality *sketches*. They offer much less complete knowledge of individuals than is commonly gained by psychological studies and observations extended over a fairly long period. They present, however, the first systematic approach to the discernment of Papago children's personalities by combined sociopsychological means, employing the fairly standardized method of tests. As such, though most of the psychodynamics in each case had to be left open to speculation, they offer aspects of the children's personality structures which, on the basis of their comparability, may serve as starting points for future, more intensive, studies.

In order to avoid ready identification of these children, fictitious names are used, and many details are omitted or slightly changed. Often, of course, this has somewhat blurred the picture.

RUTH

- 159 Ruth belongs to one of the leading families of her district, a family which presents the blending of white American socioeconomic influences and traditional Papago thought and belief in a very closely interwoven pattern. Both parents are wage-workers and receive regular salaries. All members of the family are Roman Catholics. The father's father, who holds unquestioned authority over all of them, is considered one of the most "progressive" leaders of the district and literally fought for the introduction of modern improvements, including the establishment of a government school. At the same time, he is a prominent ceremonial leader, famous for his supernatural powers. Ruth's father also seems to have this kind of ability. He is a jovial man, full of jokes, who may impress a stranger as being incapable of serious thought, but then may amaze him with sudden questions and statements of keen penetration. He had no formal schooling, though as a young man he made a considerable effort to obtain a little education and now speaks English rather well. After his mother's death several years ago, he and all the men of his family began to drink excessively. When he is drunk, he may become violent and aggressive even toward his nearest relatives.

Ruth's mother, who married into the village from another district and for a

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long time was considered an outsider, is a good-looking woman, wilful, headstrong, and largely governed by her emotions. Usually very indulgent with her children, she is not consistent in her attitude toward them and suddenly may fly into a rage, forcing obedience with angry words or slaps. She makes use of white medicine but has also claimed many cures by medicine men. Her faith in Christianity seems to be incorporated in the magic pattern. She is, for instance, convinced of the beneficial effect of merely entering the church at Magdalena.

Many children were born of this marriage, but only three have survived: ten-year-old Ruth, a younger girl, and a baby son.

At birth Ruth was a very tiny, thin baby who grew and gained weight rather slowly. She was breast-fed for about two years. Though she could stand alone when twelve months old and walked at fourteen or fifteen months, she walked very slowly even at the age of two years. Both parents participated in her training. When she misbehaved, Ruth was talked to and scolded and frequently threatened with supernatural danger to gain her obedience. Partly because she was a sickly child, partly perhaps because the loss of so many children made her parents overanxious, Ruth has already made ample acquaintance with white medicine. She has several times been treated by the medicine man and once was taken to a white faith healer who visited the Reservation.

Until she was six, she remained the only surviving child of the family and undoubtedly was spoiled by her parents. From then on she had to divide her parents' affection, first with her younger sister and then with her brother, who quite obviously has become his mother's favorite. Ruth does not seem to care for either of her siblings. She ignores the little boy completely and never plays with her sister but instead acts as quite a severe disciplinarian, scolding and spanking the child when she feels her authority as older sister disregarded. Nor does she show affection for her mother, "forgetting" to help her in her work day after day; apparently she feels much closer ties with a paternal aunt who lives in a neighboring village. The father's place in her affections is not quite certain, though all his children seem to like him. When he comes home from work, they crowd around him, and he plays with them, but his authority is clearly overshadowed by that of the grandfather.

Ruth was only two and a half years old when her mother took her to school and left her during working hours in the teacher's care. Since then she has been at school regularly and now speaks English quite well. When Ruth was nine, she wanted to go to boarding school and was sent to an off-Reservation school. Here she was placed in a grade too far advanced for her, so that in spite of her efforts she became dependent upon the help of her classmates.

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159 Ruth is a thin, very sober, and quiet girl who is rather meticulous about her clothes and person. The medical examination showed her to be undernourished and to have an acute cold. Otherwise she was healthy.

According to the Grace Arthur test her I.Q. is 121; according to the Goode-nough, 134; i.e., on both she scored well above average. The results of the projective tests convey the impression that her intellectual capacities are of high average or above and that she has a strong intellectual drive but that her intellectual efficiency is hampered by hesitancy and some insecurity. She appears to be a clearheaded observer, capable of differentiation. Her common sense is well developed. Her concepts are well organized; her imagination is good, though only moderately original. According to the Rorschach test, she is fairly spontaneous but rather discriminating in her reactions. While she appears neither vital nor vivacious, she gives the impression of being capable of intense feelings. Her personality is balanced definitely toward the inner rather than the outer world, to which she reacts with controlled reserve. The Thematic Apperception Test shows her "almost too aware of social demands and controls, more concerned with being correct than with self-expression." The same test also reveals antagonism toward her brother, resentment of the mother's attachment to him, and a general reduction of affiliative tendencies. On the whole, both projective tests agree that, though Ruth has made a relatively good adjustment and is not rigid, she appears too reasonable for her age and too reserved in her responses.

This case is particularly interesting because, in a child of ten, it presents traits which from our tribal analysis we have come to consider Papago reactions to conflicts, peculiarly transformed and resulting in a personality structure much more like personalities found in white children than like that of any other Papago child studied. Thus Ruth's reactions are not typical of the average child of her Papago community. Her family background, to be sure, is not average either; it includes, side by side, elements of prominence and prestige according to both Papago and white standards. It is astonishing how this girl responds to an emotionally upsetting situation, not with anxiety and deeply rooted insecurity but with evasion which, however, in the areas of closest personal involvement, has an unusually deliberate and determined quality. Superficially she conforms to Papago behavior standards, but she openly and consistently ignores her brother and as consistently dares to disregard her mother's wishes. At the same time, she reacts with protective self-seclusion in which she seems to feel quite secure, but this seclusion does not have the character of mystic abandonment and intermittent exclusion of reality used as a defensive device by so many Papago children.

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The family in which this girl has grown up reveals a curious balance of protective consistencies and challenging inconsistencies. This situation may have influenced (at least to some extent) the development of Ruth's personality, which is unusually sober and independent according to Papago standards. Consistent is the prestige and respect in which her family is held and the tendency of all its members to combine Papago traditions with an active approach to white ways of living. The father may drink and be unreliable in his moral support, but he is a regular wage-worker and a future medicine man as well. The mother may be moody and unpredictable in her attitudes, but she, too, is a wage-earner, with the prestige inherent in holding a steady job, at least in the eyes of Ruth's age mates. Contempt does not settle easily in a child's mind upon the socially prominent. On the other hand, unlike the situation of Elizabeth,¹ social authority is not accompanied by strict personal authority. Nor is Ruth persistently deprived of affection, but rather there is an irregular rise and fall of the emotional barometer, which may cause frequent frustrations but does not demand rigid defense against relentless pressure. Until the age of six, Ruth felt the whole impact, and also the whole warmth, of both parents' affection; the more serious deprivation through her brother occurred at an age when object-directed resentment was more likely to arise than diffuse anxiety. While a white child might have been handicapped more seriously by similar experiences, in view of the great importance he attaches to his parents, Papago society made it possible for Ruth to find valid and recognized substitutes for her parents in her grandfather and paternal aunt. Thrown back upon herself after being for years the almost tyrannically governing element in her parents' household, she found sufficient room for externalizing and projecting her resentment and her need for affection. Isolation did not become paramount; withdrawal into herself became more the rejection of what had disappointed her than anxious defense against being rejected. It appears that the parents' own lack of consistency and strictness under these circumstances has encouraged the development of Ruth's cool and sober determination and made her a judge of their actions rather than someone to be judged by them.

JACK

When the tester first came to the Catholic mission school, the sister in charge said: "The children are shy and don't understand much English. If you need any help, I shall send you Jack. He is the most reliable and best-behaved boy in school."

Soon afterward the model child was sent into the room to be tested. The

1. See pp. 242-43.

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tester had expected a clever-looking boy of thirteen, but the person who entered looked like a man, almost six feet tall and heavily built. He appeared dull and moved awkwardly and slowly. Jack talked very little, and what he said was offered after rather long periods of silence during which he seemed to ponder the test material. He was dignified and friendly and though not reluctant was not very eager to do the tasks imposed on him. "Not a bright boy," was the first impression; "strong arms for rough work, but a simple mind." But the results of the tests were truly amazing, because they all revealed a pattern completely opposed to the first impression. However, before pursuing this line of thought further, it may be best to state the little we know about the boy's life-history.

Jack was his parents' firstborn child. A strong, healthy baby, he was nursed by his mother. He walked at about the age of one year and shortly afterward started to talk. When (at about the same age) he was weaned, he cried and was restless for about four days and nights, but eventually he calmed down. His cleanliness training was accomplished without any difficulties. Soon after his birth his mother became pregnant again, and the second baby was born about the time Jack was able to walk. The third child, a boy, was born two years later. The last-born is about eight years younger than Jack.

The household pattern was the traditional Papago one. The husband took his wife to live in his father's house, a one-room adobe brick building with an ocotilla inclosure and an open ramada. Jack's paternal great-grandfather, his grandfather, and his father's unmarried sister also live here. The economic status of the family is about average. They have fields, cattle and horses, and some farm machinery.

The great-grandfather being a very old and sick man, it is the grandfather who dominates the household. He was described as "a tyrant with a bad disposition"; he does not have much contact with the other villagers. However, one cannot judge his personality by such statements, especially since he had held a ceremonial office until only a little while before this study was made, and he was in trouble because of bootlegging, a not very unusual pursuit in his district. Though he had no school education and speaks no English, he has taken great care to send his grandchildren to school. This man seems to have had the greatest influence upon Jack's training and development, probably much more than his father. Jack slept with the grandfather after leaving his mother's bed at about the age of two, and from him he learned to farm and to do ranch work. It is the grandfather who talks to him and scolds him whenever he needs correction.

Jack's own father died soon after the boy started to school, while his mother

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was pregnant with the youngest child. It was impossible to obtain any information about his father's character or about the circumstances of his death.

Jack's mother is a neat, friendly woman. As a young girl she attended a boarding school off the Reservation, but she seems to have forgotten most of her English. As the great-grandmother and grandmother are dead and the paternal aunt is unmarried and hampered by a physical defect, the mother is the female head of the house, which she cares for with the help of her small daughters.

At the age of six, Jack started going to the Catholic mission school and has been attending faithfully since. He is absent only when badly needed in the fields or on the ranch, and he always tries to make up the work missed. He likes arithmetic, is good at any type of manual work, and makes excellent pencil drawings. This boy has never been a disciplinary problem and needs little supervision. Although he always has been larger than his age mates, he seems to associate with them in a natural way, maintaining himself with dignity and without becoming the target of ridicule.

Recently Jack has spent most of his free time in his grandfather's company. With his sisters and his small brother he apparently gets along well; though he does not pay much attention to them, he is kind and has never been observed quarreling or teasing. Not openly interested in girls, at fiestas he stands quietly by, watching the dancers without dancing himself. His general behavior toward white people is quiet, unobtrusive, and shy.

Jack is quite handsome and well proportioned, but his size and development put him physically in the class of Papago young men of twenty. As excessive obesity is common in this family, it is quite possible that Jack has an endocrine disturbance. His eyes, somewhat inflamed, show signs of arrested trachoma, and his tonsils are enlarged; otherwise he is a strong and healthy boy.

The Grace Arthur test, in which he scored an I.Q. of 144 (the highest of all Papago children tested), determined his intelligence as superior. Independently, the results of the two projective tests led to much the same conclusion, indicating also ability to form clear concepts and a gift for detailed and subtle observation. These tests also agree in pointing out the caution with which he approaches problems—a caution which contributes to the solidity of his concepts but also limits the free expression of his imagination and his power of organization. They further establish a most surprising contradiction to the boy's outer appearance: a remarkable sensitivity and a highly developed feeling for people and interpersonal relations. However, he has a deep reluctance to yield to his essentially delicate and sensitive nature, as if he considers it improper. Obviously this results in insecurity and shyness. Highly socialized

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159 and emotionally well controlled as he is, and not likely to follow a sudden impulse, his denial of free expression to his imagination and sensitivity results, in trying situations, in a tendency to become vaguely sentimental. Awareness of sexual problems apparently adds to his shyness and feeling of insecurity. On the whole, Jack's outer adjustment appears excellent, while his adjustment to himself evidently is disturbed by fears of accepting his strongest qualities as appropriate.

Combining the little we know about Jack's life with the reports about his behavior and the results of the tests, it seems that two factors may have decisively influenced the specific direction of his development: early awareness of his responsibilities as the future head of his family, on the one hand; and, on the other, the discrepancy between his physique, which suggests tough masculinity, and the refined character of his intellectual and emotional makeup. As the oldest son, he was pushed a great deal nearer to being the leader of his family after his father's death. Because his physical strength is out of proportion to his age, he very likely has to work harder and take more responsibility. His guide and teacher at home is not a father nearer to him in age, a friend and rival, but a grandfather, a domineering and apparently a wilful and stern man who holds at the same time the prestige due to wisdom and experience. Circumstances, Papago tradition, and Jack's own physical appearance introduced the boy precociously into the role of worker and family father.

Such a situation holds advantages and disadvantages for personality development. In Jack's case it may contribute to the achievement of self-control, strengthen insight in and consideration for other people's attitudes, and increase the maturity of emotional reactions. But, at the same time, an unavoidable discrepancy between the interests of his chronological age and the higher social demands made upon him may produce insecurity, even if he has the ability to comply with these demands. In Jack this insecurity may be enhanced by his misleading physical appearance. Having the inclinations of a contemplative intellectual and the body of an athlete is a potential source of vulnerability and requires power of integration a child of thirteen usually does not have. It is understandable that Jack does not want to yield to his most constructive qualities but misinterprets them as weakness. It is equally understandable that the dammed-up natural forces break through from time to time in a vague, disquieting sentimentality. The fact that he is a Papago will probably help him solve his conflicts. Papago culture and values, particularly the high evaluation of both the worker and the visionary, should be of tremendous advantage for Jack's future inner adjustment.

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ROBERT

Robert's father is from one of the more conservative villages and, like an appreciable number of Papago from his district, spends most of his time away from home as a wage-worker for white people, in the copper mines, in the cotton fields, or on a ranch. His fields are taken care of by relatives, and he has hired a friend to watch over his herd of cattle. He attended boarding school and thus speaks good English and is at ease with whites as well as with his own people. His wife and children usually accompany him and set up house-keeping at the various working places. Connection with the Reservation has never been severed completely, for the family always returns for longer or shorter periods each year. During the year of the study, however, perhaps attracted by the higher war wages, they stayed away more than usual, and Robert was the only one who was left behind to live with his maternal grandfather in his native village. We do not know the reason for this; there are no reports or evidence of conflicts between him and his parents, and it is quite probable that he himself decided to stay on the Reservation or that his help was needed in his grandfather's household. Either would be in keeping with Papago traditions.

Robert, the oldest child, is thirteen. He is a strong boy, obviously capable of doing hard work, and, though overweight, is quite vigorous. Roundheaded and roundfaced, with the half-embarrassed, half-challenging bearing of the adolescent boy, Robert is not too friendly but moderately at ease. At school his work was reported to be fair but often careless. He likes to draw and is good at handicrafts. He keeps a supply of comic books in his desk, dragging one out and looking at it when he has a chance. Quiet in class and rather monosyllabic, he becomes loud and noisy as soon as the teacher leaves the room; on the bus trip he is one of the rowdiest children. He was interested in war news, asked to be shown battle areas on the map, preferred comic books showing airplanes, and often was observed watching repairs being made on the school bus.

With three or four age mates he often plays basketball. On the Saturday bus trips to a near-by town, Robert is one of the most regular passengers. Sometimes he goes with his great-aunt, who keeps house for the grandfather; sometimes he goes alone to see his family and the town sights. He can also be seen at fiestas, hanging around and watching the others but never dancing himself. He seems to associate easily and casually with boys his age and, so far as we know, does not have particular difficulties in his relationships with his family and other Papago adults. However, we know nothing of his close emotional attachments.

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159 While being tested, Robert was co-operative and friendly but frequently made side remarks in Papago to the interpreter, partly to protest and partly to ridicule the procedure.

The medical examination revealed an old case of trachoma and numerous discolorations on his face from healed impetigo.

According to the Grace Arthur test he has an I.Q. of 75, indicative of dull normal intelligence, while his Rorschach performance suggested a somewhat higher level. His ability for abstraction is low, and he has little imagination. His concepts are unoriginal, commonplace, and concerned with obvious details of reality, and his range of interest is narrow. New, unfamiliar problems are likely to produce anxiety and hesitation.

His personality configuration according to both projective tests appeared crude and simple. Fairly spontaneous, with a somewhat undirected infantile vitality, he evidently controls his not overly strong drives and impulses by consciously suppressing those which he thinks are unconventional and therefore likely to cause him trouble rather than by integrated discipline or insight. Relatively good-natured and unaggressive, he enjoys life within the limits of his personality. According to the Thematic Apperception Test, his family relations are generally good, and he is quite closely attached to his mother in an infantile way. According to both tests, he is very aware of sexual problems and moderately preoccupied with them.

We do not know anything about Robert's early development and childhood. The impression conveyed by his behavior and the results of the tests is that of an adolescent boy, as they may probably be found by the thousands all over the world. There does not seem to be anything specifically Papago about him; since he is a Papago, it is just this which arouses interest. It may be due to his relatively meager natural endowment, but we can find among the Papago children studied a number of boys who were clearly not more gifted but nevertheless showed many definitely Papago characteristics. In Robert's case it is possible that the lack of what we have come to consider as Papago defense mechanisms may be due to his frequent contacts with white ways, and we recall what was previously advanced about the acceptability to the average Papago of elements of foreign culture.

Apparently Robert's contacts with American civilization have produced no clash of values and subsequent conflicts. The values met and recognized in the mines and cotton fields very likely were predominantly material, and knowledge of them conceivably could produce a feeling of relative superiority and could dispense in a personality like Robert's the Papago complex of anxieties as well as the corresponding defense mechanisms.

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VICTORIA

Victoria lives in a Papago village which is a stronghold of anti-white conservatives. Only a wagon road leads into the village; there is no government well; and all but one or two houses are of the windowless, wattle-and-daub type. No one owns a car, and there is no English-speaking adult in the whole settlement. For many years the village had been under the leadership and influence of Victoria's maternal grandfather, a militant man whose authority is strongly felt. He did not participate in the district council and never voted for representatives to the tribal council. His opposition to white interference even led him to use force in keeping Agency officials from his village. Only after he had committed a federal offense and was removed from the Reservation for some time did the children start to come to school. This medicine man also has a long history of trouble with members of his own extended family, trouble culminating in a violent feud brought on by disagreements over cattle and by his uncompromising political views.

Victoria lives in his household. Her grandmother, a frail little woman, is old and no longer very active, but her authority is still respected. Victoria's father, a man past middle age, seems to be a background figure in the family and is overshadowed by his wife, the old leader's daughter, a forceful, determined person and one of the most skillful craftswomen of the Reservation. The household also includes Victoria's older brother and sister, several younger sisters, and a paternal cousin with his wife and child.

In this family, abundant in actual and potential disciplinarians, Victoria was brought up, obviously in line with old Papago tradition. When her mother was asked how she trained her children, she replied, "Of course, just like any other children. When they were little, we did things for them—everything. When they began to grow up, we taught them to do all kinds of work, and now my big girls can do everything about the house that they should."

Victoria is ten years old, a tall, slender girl with strong regular features. Her attitude of reserve and dignity is greatly heightened in the presence of white or Papago strangers. On such occasions her facial expression becomes disconcerted and staring, and any efforts at conversation are met with stony silence. This behavior is in marked contrast with that of her sisters, who are bubbly and giggling.

Even after Victoria had attended school for a year and a half, the teachers were not successful in breaking through her reserve. One of them reported that Victoria would shrink away from her and walk out of reach whenever, as was her habit, she tried to put her arm around the girl's waist. At the same

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time, Victoria is no disciplinary problem; she seems interested in her class work, learns rather quickly, and does good work. She gets along well with all her classmates but associates almost exclusively with two girls from her own village—both a little older than she—with whom she chats and laughs quite freely.

Medical examination showed her to be adequately nourished and to be in fairly good physical condition. However, she had chronic conjunctivitis and tonsillitis, and the lymph glands of her neck were swollen.

On the Grace Arthur test she scored an I.Q. of 85, i.e., low average. According to the Rorschach test, her intellectual capacities are average, her organizing power fair, her imagination limited. Her thinking is not very differentiated; it is unoriginal and mostly concerned with objects familiar to her. She appears to be ambitious without employing too much effort, and she approaches new problems with confidence. However, her intellectual freedom and efficiency are apparently lowered by a specific feeling of insecurity and distrust in contacts with strangers. This reaction seems to have been acquired through education or long experience rather than to have developed from traumatic frustration. Her spontaneity is limited. She does not appear very vital, but, on the other hand, she is not passive or submissive. Moderate basic aggressiveness seemed to be controlled into quiet tenacity. The Thematic Apperception Test gave the same results independently. Both tests characterized her as a girl exposed to an early and continuous external discipline, who had accepted and internalized it until, at the time of the examination, she relied almost completely on this kind of control, using it at once as a shield and weapon against her own impulses and against the world.

In evaluating this case, it must be kept in mind that we are not dealing with a family which rests in the security of its old Papago traditions, but one which is consciously and belligerently "conservative." Thus, in spite of the careful preservation of Papago customs, forms, and environments, there is an aggressive atmosphere in this household group which in a sense removes it as far from the typical Papago home as a high degree of acculturation would.

Behind this conformity to Papago rules of life there seems to be a special pressure stressing the exclusive validity and goodness of these rules; at the same time, there is the inference (and probably also the explicit indoctrination) that what is outside is hostile and harmful. Such militant opposition to outsiders apparently has not been a characteristic Papago reaction, except perhaps during the period of defense against the Apache.

Training in this kind of atmosphere might well lead a child to interpret his experience in terms of his group as opposed to outsiders, to the extent that the

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free development of his individual drives and traits would be seriously hampered. 159

The attraction and acceptability, for a child, of this kind of sociocentric view apparently lies in its following psychological effects: It provides marked security and self-confidence, based upon the mere fact of membership (independent of personal gifts and achievement) in a specific group deemed superior to others; it removes by displacement inner conflicts and feelings of guilt and reduces the burden of personal responsibility; finally, it offers the gratification of feeling that the disciplinarians themselves are victimized and, to a certain extent, may be redeemed by the child's loyalty. This last effect, by leaving open a channel for personal identification and attachment, is emotionally activating and intensifying. It may explain why this kind of sociocentric pressure, though it narrows and strictly directs interests and pursuits, does not necessarily lead to flatness or rigidity of the individual's reactions but often gives marked emotional impetus.² In Victoria's case, all these mechanisms seem to be functioning and are probably abetted by the fact that her grandfather has qualities of a hero-defender and victim.

MILLIE

Millie lives with her mother and grown-up brother in one of the poorest one-room adobe houses in a large village. Her father is dead. The oldest brother, who is married, is in the armed forces; the oldest sister works in a city as a domestic; two other siblings are in an off-Reservation boarding school. The brother who lives at home is lazy, often drunk, and not of much help to his mother and sister. The combined assistance of all the other children is inadequate to meet even the low living costs of Millie and her mother; consequently, they are among the very few Papago who receive government relief.

Her mother, who has never been to school and does not speak English, is an unsociable person. At fiestas and other village gatherings she sits around and watches, scarcely speaking; nor does she visit with the other women of the village.

Millie is twelve years of age, a precociously developed girl, rather awkward in her poor, skimpy dresses. Her round face is pretty, but, when she is talking, it is usually half-hidden behind her hands as she tries to cover her giggles.

A Roman Catholic and apparently a fervent one—she often takes communion at services and carries the statue of the Virgin in processions—she

2. Being victimized seems to play a very important role and to be an indispensable device in creating close fellowship in militantly sociocentric groups. Recently, for instance, it was abundantly and very successfully used in European Fascist propaganda and education.

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159 attends the mission school in her village. Her teacher says that she does fair work but has to be prodded continually. She is said to be mischievous at times and to have caused quarrels between students coming from different villages. Millie usually associates with two girls, both a couple of years younger than she, with whom she plays around the school grounds. They always appear to have secrets in common, whispering and giggling behind their hands. Millie is boy-crazy, flirts in class and on the playgrounds, and writes boys' initials everywhere. She attends all fiestas and dances every dance, sometimes with her girl friends, sometimes with boys. Her autobiography disclosed misgivings regarding herself and her desires for the future, as far as she was able to formulate them without transgressing Papago conventions. She wrote that she wished to be like an age mate of hers, a very pretty, slender girl who was quiet, withdrawn, and liked by everybody because of her pleasant disposition. She also wrote that she wanted to be a mother.

According to the medical examination, Millie is above average height and weight. Her throat was congested, her tonsils enlarged, and she showed signs of tuberculosis.

Her I.Q. on the Grace Arthur Point Performance Scale is about average—91. The Rorschach test indicates her abstract thinking and imaginative capacities as fair. A preponderant interest in and preoccupation with her emotional life lowers her intellectual efficiency. Her thoughts are dominated by their immediate pleasant or unpleasant associations. Thus her thinking is very subjective and lacks steady logical pursuit. Her imagination centers around fantasies about herself, about sex, and about simple pleasure-giving concepts of infantile quality.

Both projective tests characterize Millie as a vital, aggressive girl, impulsive and unable to regulate her instinctual drives with that automatic control which is based on persistent, careful discipline in early childhood. Such incapability of emotional control, for which escape into fantasies constitutes an unsatisfactory solution, may cause continuing conflicts. Millie has feelings of inadequacy and guilt and quite marked anxiety. Under the full influence of puberty, she does not seem to know whether or not it is a good thing to accept her instinctual urges; she seems neither to repress nor to sublimate them.

This girl is the youngest member of a family unit which is gradually dissolving and in which the Papago devices of social support and security are no longer functioning adequately. We do not know how old Millie was when this disintegration began. We do not even know when and how the father died. However, the situation appears fully developed and of not very recent origin, so that the father's death alone does not offer a satisfactory explanation.

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There are a relatively large number of descendants who might have taken the father's place in part. But even before his induction into the Army, the oldest son had left his mother's house, passing on the care of the family fields to the much younger brother. Furthermore, the mother's markedly reserved attitude toward the villagers suggests a far-reaching social isolation. It is quite possible that lack of the kind of family security which apparently is so essential for Papago life and the absence or loss of satisfactory identification patterns may have been important factors in Millie's development. Many of her reactions, including her religious fervor, strike the observer as a frantic hunt for substitute social and emotional contacts.

EDGAR

Edgar is the son of a man who has headed the "progressive" pro-Agency faction in his district for many years; he is one of the chief antagonists of Victoria's grandfather, although the two families are related. (As a matter of fact the quarrel between the two related families, accentuated by a cattle feud, at times reached such a pitch that the members of these groups were gunning for each other.) As a progressive leader, Edgar's father was instrumental in the building of *charreros*, wells, and roads and the establishment of the district school. He is an ambitious, hard-working man, who has several well-tended fields, to some of which he runs water. For breeding his cattle he makes use of the blooded tribal herd. His well-built stone houses are furnished with beds, tables, chairs, and stoves. He has never been to school and does not speak English but has seen to it that all his children attend the day school or boarding school regularly. Like other men in his extended family, he started to drink excessively several years ago after the death of one of the relatives.

Edgar's mother is friendly but unanimated and monosyllabic. She is very neat and always keeps her house in good order. While her husband attends nearly all the fiestas, she and the children usually stay home. Whether this is by her choice is uncertain.

She is her husband's second wife. There is one son from the first marriage. This boy, who at the time of the study was in the armed forces, had been reared by his father's brother. For many years, the relationship between him and his father has been very tense.

Besides his half-brother, Edgar has one older brother, two younger sisters, and one younger brother. The older brother, who attends a Catholic boarding school, is physically better developed and has a more forward manner than Edgar; on the other hand, he is less attractive and rather indolent. The little

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brother who, like the youngest sister, is a vivacious, usually gay child, has a marked fear of drunks. Once, when riding home on the school bus with a drunk man among the passengers, he went into a violent screaming tantrum. In this connection it is noteworthy that, according to the mother, none of her children like to go to the wine ceremonies because "they are afraid of the drunks."

Another sister, two years older than Edgar, died a year before the examinations for this study. She had been hospitalized for pulmonary tuberculosis, but her father took her home. Edgar apparently was very upset by her death. When he mentioned it in the Emotional Response Test, tears came to his eyes—quite an unusual reaction in Papago children of his age, who strictly control their emotions before strangers.

Edgar is twelve years old, a handsome, slender boy, with finer features than most Papago. Quiet and well-mannered, he is shy with strangers, but not too shy to do politely what is expected of him. He has attended school for eight years. At the government day school he was considered to be bright and to learn quickly and easily. However, when he was sent to a Catholic boarding school with his older brother and sister (the family is Roman Catholic), he was unable to do fourth-grade work; though he very much wanted to go back again, he was not readmitted, while his brother was allowed to return.

At the government day school he is well liked by his teacher and is no disciplinary problem. He associates with boys somewhat older than himself, with whom he plays basketball or marbles. He does not seem to be a leader of this group but is at ease and lively. In his own village (where there are no children of his age except one mentally defective boy) he spends his time, whenever possible, with a young adult male relative, a high-school graduate who is not much interested in girls. With him Edgar attended some of the fiestas.

There is little information about his relations with other Papago adults. Once, however, when some men on a roundup stopped the school bus on its way home, an elderly man came over to shake hands with Edgar. According to Papago standards, this is an unusual demonstration for an adult to make toward a child.

During the year he attended boarding school, Edgar spent several months in a sanatorium on account of pulmonary tuberculosis. However, he now shows no clinical signs of tuberculosis. Though his left tonsil is markedly enlarged, and the lymph glands on the right side of his neck are slightly swollen, Edgar is in good health and is adequately nourished.

Edgar's I.Q. according to the Grace Arthur test is 107, i.e., high average. On the Rorschach test he shows good abstractive and imaginative capacities.

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as well as a fair degree of originality. His intellectual efficiency, however, is apparently interfered with by some deep emotional disturbance. His thinking processes are retarded, his concepts are often forced, his imagination is greatly inhibited, and his common-sense interest in the details of daily life limited. He has a strong drive for self-achievement which, however, shows components of anxiety and appears almost compulsive. He also assumes a defensively critical attitude. Edgar gives the impression of being a basically aggressive and at the same time sensitive boy, with intense emotions, who, under the influence of some deep emotional shock and overwhelming anxiety, tries to inhibit or deny his drives and to control them (rather unsuccessfully) with a great and conscious effort that considerably limits his spontaneity.

The Thematic Apperception Test, giving very much the same analysis of Edgar's personality, revealed that his good outer adjustment is more probably based on a failure to take a real stand than on genuine friendly participation. According to this test, there are signs of anxiety and blocking at the mention of the father and mother. On the other hand, there is no openly expressed hostility against them.

This boy reveals an emotional disturbance which belies his actually good outer adjustment. The only evidence of such a disturbance except that of the test responses was his tears at the mention of his sister's death.

As to the causes of his insecurity and anxiety, the limited information we have permits only vague speculations. The family situation is not very favorable for the development of satisfactory attachments. The mother is dull and seclusive; the father absorbed in his work and district political problems. The tension between him and his oldest son may be indicative of his inability to establish an affectionate father-son relationship. The fact that he is an excessive drinker and that his youngest son shows marked fear of drunken men points in this direction. On the other hand, it is remarkable that, subsequent to a relative's death, all the men of this person's family, including Edgar's father, started to drink heavily. This particular death may have produced anxiety (possibly based upon magic concepts or guilt feelings) by which Edgar as a member of the family would automatically be affected. Moreover, the cattle feud in which the family is involved and the father's provokingly "progressive" stand in the community may also contribute to a situation of general insecurity. The last-mentioned factor, however, may largely be compensated by the esteem and respect granted to the family on the same basis.

We do not know how much of Edgar's distress over his sister's death is caused by personal attachment and how much by the general magic pattern. His experiences in the sanatorium and the realization that he suffers or suffered

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from the same disease as his sister may contribute to his anxiety and insecurity. In this connection it is worth while to mention that the young man with whom Edgar associates most had allegedly been told by white physicians that he was incurably ill and would die soon. That the young man, who does not have a very favorable opinion of white medicine, is still alive and apparently in good health several years after the verdict of impending death, may be one source of his attraction for Edgar. But the close friendship of these two, far apart in age, both menaced by a fatal disease, may also be based on a common deep concern about death and sickness.

ELIZABETH

In a small village which has a Presbyterian population known as "progressive," i.e., receptive to the beliefs and institutions of white American civilization, lives thirteen-year-old Elizabeth. Her home is a well-built four-room adobe house which, in addition to the more usual furniture of beds, tables, and chairs, has a sewing machine and a radio. Several cars, though somewhat battered and makeshift, add to this display of wealth and modernism.

Elizabeth's father, an important village official, has never had the entire backing of the villagers. He is a well-to-do cattleman and farmer who, until recently, ran a small business. Shortly before the time of the present study he began to drink heavily and to neglect his affairs. For days he stayed away from home, leaving his family in complete ignorance of his whereabouts.

The mother is a domineering person, a pillar of the Presbyterian church, who upholds the puritanical principles taught by the local missionaries—including complete rejection of liquor and tobacco. Intelligent, clear-minded, and efficient, she not only takes care of her large household but also has held a job for several years.

Elizabeth is the youngest of many children. An older sister is married to an Indian of another tribe and lives off the Reservation. An unmarried sister works in another state; her child, a little girl, is taken care of by Elizabeth's mother. Her oldest brother is in the Army. Her other brothers attended a boarding school, from which the two younger ones were expelled because they would not comply with school regulations. They could have returned to school upon promise of good behavior, but they refused and instead occupy themselves at home with bootlegging.

In this strangely assorted family, Elizabeth has grown up almost exclusively under her mother's and oldest sister's care, while the father was largely concerned with the training of his sons. She was breast-fed for about a year, walked and talked at about the age of sixteen months, and did not show any

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peculiar habits. Training was rather strict. All the children were frequently scolded and slapped by the mother and sometimes spanked by the father.

At school Elizabeth, who is in the fourth grade, is an average student and very conscientious. A well-developed, nice-looking, adolescent girl, remarkably neat and tidy, she is quiet, silent, and reserved—indeed, so much so that her mother commented on it. Except during recess at school she never is observed playing; instead, she is often seen with a somewhat older girl, strolling around the desert or sitting under a mesquite tree. Her most cherished pastime, however, is horseback riding—a sport quite unusual among Papago women, who consider it immodest. Elizabeth—to make things worse—wears trousers and rides astride like a boy. Her girl friend seems to be her closest companion. Her father is away most of the time; her mother usually displays a demanding and stern attitude toward her and seems more deeply attached to the granddaughter. Elizabeth completely ignores the mother's little favorite and takes care of her only when explicitly asked to. The brothers who are at home and with whom formerly she had a teasing relationship now evidently consider themselves grown up and do not pay much attention to her.

Elizabeth's physical condition is good, except for irregular teeth, swollen and bleeding gums, and enlarged tonsils. Her I.Q. according to the Grace Arthur test is 95, i.e., average. The projective tests, likewise, indicate that her intelligence is average but that her efficiency is affected by deep anxiety which limits the freedom and ease of her intellectual activity. New problems are likely to upset her, and she definitely prefers to stay within those lines of thought which have proved safe. Her imagination is characterized by an unoriginal, neat sobriety, awkwardly tinged with childhood fantasies. Her spontaneity is extraordinarily limited, as are her reactions to outside stimuli, which she tries to avoid and forcibly to control. Her energy is absorbed by preoccupation with her own emotional problems. From the demands of the world and from her own responsibilities she withdraws into herself and finds a certain security and satisfaction in fantasies about a safe and happier childhood. She seems to have some desire for contact with other people but is unable to find any realistic expression for it. Family relations appear very poor. She obviously harbors deep hostility against her mother but never allows it direct expression. Her relationship with her father is on an unrealistic plane; in fantasy she becomes a son participating in his affection, as symbolized perhaps by the "immodest" horsemanship.

The retails of the tests present a personality picture that is not cheerful. In defense against a forbidding mother and in futile search for gratification

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from a father who evades her, Elizabeth has retreated so far within the shell she has built around herself that it seems seriously problematic whether she will be able to integrate her fantasy image of life with reality. One way seems to be demonstrated by her father and most of her siblings—the way of rebellion. Her predilection for unconventional horseback riding may indicate that she will take this road. The rebellious models she sees in her relatives are socially and individually disintegrative. It is unfortunate that the one dominating personality of the family, the mother, seems to represent at once the unwitting instigator of rebellion and the image of righteousness which appears to her children most undesirable. She demonstrates neither sufficient affection nor warmth to make herself loved. The mother's affection seems to go mainly to the small granddaughter, who allows her to combine complete domination with the satisfaction of charity. Thus, Elizabeth's situation at home is one of twofold frustration: neglected by her father and apparently rejected by her mother, she may be driven to hate what she has been taught to love, and the reverse.

GEORGE

George, eleven years old, is the third of many children. His father is a very influential and prosperous man, outstanding in his capabilities and in the art of adjusting to and dominating any situation within his community. His home is a large adobe brick house which is built and furnished according to white standards and even has a flower and vegetable garden. He has one of the largest herds of cattle on the Reservation. Politically active, he holds important office in the tribal government and also shows much zeal in Presbyterian church work. Thus, while he presents a picture much like that of a successful white businessman, he has nevertheless managed to be popular among his fellow-Papago and, at the same time, to be well liked and respected by the white employees of the Agency. A high-school graduate, he was educated with the military discipline typical of the Indian boarding schools of his time. In his home he requires strict obedience and does not hesitate to spank his children whenever he feels that they need it. He married a Catholic, a fact that may help him in his position as a leader of his district, which is part Catholic and part Presbyterian.

George's mother is a jolly and pleasant person who has had some schooling. She attends Catholic services on special holidays but also does considerable work for the Presbyterian church as the occasion requires. She and a daughter by a former marriage are the only Catholics in the family.

At birth, George was a normally developed baby. He was breast- and

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bottle-fed in combination for about two years and was weaned only after he could eat solid food well. A normal child without any unusual habits, he began walking and talking at about twelve months. Cleanliness training was achieved without difficulties. After the next child was born—that is, when George was about three years old—part of his care was taken over by his then twelve-year-old half-sister and by his paternal grandmother. When he grew older, his father and his father's brother trained him in masculine activities. From the age of six, George has been attending school regularly. His teachers agreed that he is a bright boy who, besides having a good mind, is conscientious and a steady worker. They also said that he is lively and fun-loving but dislikes to lead a game or to do anything in which he would stand out as an individual. Once, when the teacher told George's father that the boy did not talk enough, the father answered: "Yes, but when he does, he usually has something worth while to say."

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George is very fond of athletics, particularly of foot races, which he usually wins. He is modest and undemonstrative about his victories and a good sport when he loses. A favorite among boys of his age and even older ones, he has many friends. He is scornful of girls and never plays with them but likes to tease them at every opportunity.

George is a nice-looking, short and chunky lad, always very neatly dressed. Medical examination found him to be well nourished and healthy, except for the poor condition of his teeth and gums. His tonsils have been removed, and there is evidence of arrested trachoma. During the testing he was friendly and smiling but obviously embarrassed. He scored an I.Q. of 99 on the Grace Arthur test and 105 on the Goodenough. Both projective tests indicate that, although his intellectual capacities and drive for achievement are average, his efficiency is lowered by general insecurity and pronounced feelings of inadequacy. He shows, however, great ability to conform to adult control and general social demands and resorts to this ability as a help in covering up his insecurity. At the same time, he apparently has a trend to withdraw into himself intermittently. He is a very vital boy, attracted by the world but desirous of seeing it in a more romantic light. He controls his emotions well but does this mostly by evading possible frictions or by making attempts at compensating for them with the help of his wishful imaginings. He is aggressive in that he desires self-achievement, and obviously he has guilt-feelings about this aggressiveness. Only his insecurity gives him the appearance of being compliant, which essentially he is not.

Scrutinizing the family situation in which George is growing up, reports

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159 about his overt behavior and the results of tests, we have the impression that he is a boy who, favored by the home atmosphere of success, directed striving, and firmly established organization, has made an excellent adjustment to the social demands made of a boy of his age. At the same time, we find that he is handicapped by feelings of insecurity and inadequacy. This is not surprising, if we consider the outstanding personality of his father and his openly exercised authority over his children, as well as the fact that George is the third son, whose oldest brother, at least, is superior in his capacities and achievements. It is more surprising (and speaks well for the handling of interpersonal relations in this family) that his overt modesty and shyness are not more pronounced and that his personality has remained as sound as it is. To Papago eyes, his tendency toward withdrawal is more virtue than a fault. His feelings of inadequacy may become less disturbing with advancing age, which will bring him nearer to the point of becoming his father's co-worker and his younger brothers' disciplinarian.

AN OLD MAN'S NOTES

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reach the camp of the man who possessed the calendar record of which the Indians had told me. It grew pitch dark before our day's journey was over, a large blazing fire, which enlightened us as to the position of the camp, guiding us from some distance. Our arrival naturally caused surprise, but was easily explained, and the man promised to show his calendar stick the next morning.

This calendar, which, as far as I know, is the only one existing in the tribe, is an attempt at keeping a record of events by various marks on a wooden stick. Made from pine board, it is seventy-nine inches in length and one and one-quarter inches broad at the middle, narrowing toward the ends, and about an inch thick at the centre, which is the thickest.

The old man, when fifteen years of age, had taken it into his head to begin a record of the events of his life, giving to each year a space of about an inch on the stick, separating one year from another by a transverse notch. He thus made one notch for each year that passed, and their number had now reached sixty-seven. The events of the year are depicted by crosses, dots, lines in various positions, as zigzags, angles, parallels, etc., and, as they have significance and meaning only to him, are less interesting from the point of view of the markings than from the events recorded. More than one kind of mark is rarely applied for each year. As the record of happenings that appeared to him important, accompanied by his own explanations, may be of interest, I shall give here the principal ones:

NEW TRAILS IN MEXICO

- 159 In 1849: Unusual snowfall, killing men and beasts.
- 173 In 1850: Successful attacks by the Apaches on the Maricopa at
- [721] Red Rock, as well as on the Papago near Magdalena, Sonora.
- [64] In 1851: Severe disease, called "black vomit," appeared. Its symptoms were painful fits and cramps. Dark-colored blood would flow from the mouth. When the sufferer vomited, it was a sign of relief. Many Indians died, including some medicine-men. (This may have been yellow fever.)
- [72] In 1852 and 1853: Papagoes repelled attacks by the Apaches in Arizona.
- In 1854: Papagoes fought with the Apaches at Santa Ana, Sonora.
- In 1855 and 1856: Death of relatives.
- In 1857: American soldiers were killed by Mexicans at Caborca. (This alludes to the defeat of the filibusters under Captain Crabbe.)
- In 1858: Birth of a girl relative. She afterward became makai (medicine-man.)
- [525] In 1859: The Papagoes in the winter went to dance with the Pimas, below Sacaton, in order to secure wheat. (It was also the custom for the Pima to help at the feasts of the Papago, the reward being in either case grain or domestic animals.)
- In 1860: Prominent chief died.
- [72] In 1861: Papagoes in Mexico engaged the Apaches and were victorious. The booty, consisting of shields, bows, and arrows, was sold to the Mexicans for mescal brandy and maize.
- In 1862: A fight with the Apaches in Mexico.
- In 1863: His first marriage took place.
- In 1864: His first child was born.
- In 1865: Apaches captured one Papago, who later escaped.
- In 1871: Apaches made peace with the whites at Arivaipa.
- In 1874: Apaches attacked San Xavier.
- In 1875: Ball games with foot-racing at Caborca, Sonora. He won in betting, one horse, saddle, and bridle.
- [44] In 1876: Disease, accompanied by the loss of hair. Many died. (Perhaps this was typhoid fever.)
- In 1880: The railroad arrived at Tucson.

A RECORD OF EVENTS

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- In 1881: A relative became crazy, killed his wife with a knife, and then himself. 157 ●
- In 1882: First *fiesta* in Mexican fashion took place at a rancharia which formerly existed where at present the Indian Oasis is. (This means that the Indians of Arizona began to adopt the social gathering in use among the Mexicans, without imparting any religious importance to the festival. A *fiesta* among Mexicans always includes dancing, which, in our time, has been adopted by the Papagoes of Sonora, but generally not in Arizona. On the occasion related, the people danced one by one in a circle.) 173
- In 1885: A visit to a Pima feast. Many singers went, and many others, all well dressed. [527]
- In 1887: An earthquake in the "flowers disappear" moon. [133]
- In 1889: The Pima took part in a dance in order to secure cattle. This was in the "dry grass" moon.
- In 1890: A feast at San Xavier in the "dry grass moon."
- In 1891: San Xavier Indians came to dance at Kvitak (near the "Pump-house" near Horseshoe).
- In 1893: A foot-race at Kvitak in "inner bone" moon (winter). The racers starting in the middle of the day, ran as far as Santa Rosa, returning at dark (about 8 P.M.). [526]
- In 1897: Foot-races at Äktjin.
- In 1898: Two nephews put in prison in Yuma for smuggling mescal brandy.
- In 1899: Two relatives imprisoned in Tucson for stealing cattle.
- In 1901: He was isolated at Tucson on account of small-pox in the family. [164]
- In 1902: A foot-race at Tjeavölitak.
- In 1903: A foot-race at Kvitak.
- In 1904: The purification of girls in the winter. [783]
- In 1907: His friends put in jail for fighting at a sahuaro feast at Kvitak.
- In 1908: Many Papagoes that were attending the *fiesta* of San Francisco in Magdalena, Sonora, were imprisoned for resisting the Mexican authorities when being pressed into military service to fight the Yaqui. A chief from San Xavier went down to Magdalena and helped them to get out.

- 159 During recent years he has been blind, but a friend and his wife have assisted him in placing marks according to his directions. The event of this ensuing year would be the visit of "Carlos" to his sahuaro camp, he said. I append here the Papago calendar which divides the year into thirteen "moons," or *marsat* in the native language.

THE PAPAGO CALENDAR

1. Tonjapik Marsat, Hot Moon (*tonj*, hot).
2. Tjokiapik Marsat, Rainy Moon.
3. Shópol Ueapik Marsat, Short Planting Moon.
4. Vársa Kakitak Marsat, Dry Grass Moon (*kákitak*, dry).
5. Vihamik Marsat, Touches Mildly Moon. (The cold touches mildly.)
6. Jómali Súipitik Marsat, Low Cold Moon (*jómali*, low).
7. Úta Váokar Marsat, Inner Bone Moon. (The middle of the winter.) It is also called Ku Súipitik, Big Cold.
8. Óvalik Marsat, In Heat Moon. (When the animals are in heat.)
9. Kshotak Marsat (untranslatable). Meaning: When the animals have lost their fat.
10. Kómaki Marsat, Gray Moon (*kómak*, gray). (When the trees are without leaves.)
11. Tjuutáki Marsat, Green Moon (*stjuutak*, light blue or light green).
12. Oám Marsat, Yellow Moon (usually *sweéni*, yellow). (Yellow flowers on trees, bushes, and plants, such as the palo verde, the greasewood, century plants and cacti.)
13. Híkiapik Marsat, Flowers Disappear Moon. (Plants begin to make fruit.)

- 124 The old man was amply rewarded for his interview and consented to be photographed, though his wife, with the usual Papago ignorance of money value, prevented